

# THE MILITANT

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photo by Larry Burns

MARCH TO FRENCH CONSULATE. New York demonstration against repression of left in France by de Gaulle government, June 22. Demonstrators

gathered at Columbus Circle and marched to French Consulate at 72nd Street and Fifth Ave., and held rally (see page 3).

## Int'l protest hits ban on French left

By Joseph Hansen

BRUSSELS—Pierre Frank, the leader of the banned Internationalist Communist Party, French Section of the Fourth International, was released from jail by de Gaulle's political police on June 24. He had been held incommunicado since June 14. When the government failed to file any charges by June 21, Frank and three other political prisoners began a hunger strike as a means of protest.

Immediately after de Gaulle banned all the important revolutionary political formations in France and arrested a number of their leaders and members, a broad defense committee was set up. Solidarity actions were initiated in a number of countries (see p. 3 and p. 8). The pressure began to be felt by the de Gaulle regime

but it waited until after the first round of the current election before releasing Pierre Frank and Argentin of the Federation of Revolutionary Students.

When it was learned that the prisoners had started a hunger strike, the Committee for Freedom and Against Repression, headed by Laurent Schwartz, the well-known mathematician, and such figures as Jean-Paul Sartre, issued a statement saying that the protest action had been initiated by those being held in the Gravelle armory:

"Pierre Frank, a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International; Schroedt, editor of *Workers Voice*; Yves Dorey, director of *Revolte*, and Argentin, of the Federation of Revolutionary Students, began an indefinite hunger strike

June 21. On Sunday, Dorey and Schroedt were released. Argentin and Frank are continuing their hunger strike. Pierre Frank, who is more than 60 years old, has a circulatory condition that required him to call for a doctor."

According to the committee, the prisoners decided to go on a hunger strike as soon as they learned that the police intended to hold them incommunicado beyond the legal limit of 10 days without bringing charges against them.

The committee said that the conduct of the police "proved that they had no evidence whatsoever that could be cited as justification for the decree dissolving the organizations to which they belonged."

The committee added that the police had made new political arrests in Paris June 20 and that the prisoners were being held at the Gravelle armory.

Since then it has been learned that the government is still holding some members of the Maoist organizations and apparently intends to file some kind of charges against them.

All the proscribed organizations remain banned. The ban on demonstrations remains in effect. Gaullist Premier Pompidou is ominously raising the false charge that the left "plans violence" after the elections. It is important to intensify the campaign in defense of the victimized revolutionaries.

### 100 British Labor MPs hit French clampdown

The Paris daily *Le Monde* reports that 100 Labor Members of Parliament in Britain joined together in an appeal to de Gaulle for the lifting of the ban on revolutionary groups. They also asked that the leaders of these groups who have been arrested be released.

Calling attention to the fact that right-wing politicians have been released from prison and pardoned by de Gaulle, the MP's viewed the ban as an attack on the basic democratic rights of the people of France.

Among the signers of this appeal were four members of the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party.

### Next week: analysis of French election

The banned organizations are fighting back. The Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire (JCR—Revolutionary Communist Youth) defied the ban, courageously distributing tens of thousands of leaflets on election day all over France to people on their way to the polls.

A solidarity campaign in behalf of the victims of the Gaullist repressions has been set in motion in Brussels. The first responses have proved very encouraging and it is expected that the campaign will rapidly be extended to other countries in Europe.

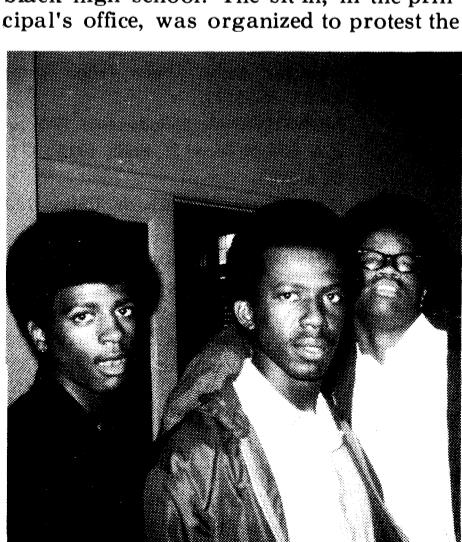
The committee in charge of this work has asked that funds raised by supporters throughout the world, which are needed immediately, be sent to Brussels, along with news of protests. Checks should be made out to Emile Van Ceulen and sent to him at the following address: Emile Van Ceulen, Secretary, Fonds de Solidarité contre la Répression en France, 111 Avenue Seghers, Brussels 8, Belgium.

### Canadian Laborites protest on France

MONTREAL, Canada—More than 70 labor and New Democratic Party (Canada's labor party) figures have protested the measures taken by the French government against a number of socialist organizations.

Among the signers of the petition delivered to the French Consulate June 22 are Robert Cliche, Quebec leader of the NDP; Roland Morin, president of the Quebec NDP; Laurier Lapierre, federal vice-president of the NDP; and Louis Laberge, president of the Quebec Federation of Labor.

Demonstrations against the ban and arrests were held in Vancouver, Toronto, Ottawa, Edmonton and Montreal on June 22.



ACCUSED. Richard Gossett (left), Carl Miller (center) and Larry Gossett.

suspension of a black student. Charles Oliver, a senior at Franklin, had allegedly been in a fight with a white student.

All three of the convicted defendants are University of Washington students. One, Aaron Dixon, is chairman of the local Black Panther Party; the other two, Carl Miller and Larry Gossett, are officers of the Black Student Union at the University of Washington. Two additional defendants were acquitted.

Testimony at the trial underlined the dissatisfaction of black students with their treatment under the present educational system. Organized at three Seattle high schools, black student unions are demanding more black faculty members and inclusion of a full black studies program in the curriculum. They are actively involved in defending the rights of black students and are concerned with preventing suspensions and drop-outs of black students. They collaborate closely with the University of Washington Black Student Union and had turned to it for assistance in fighting Charles Oliver's suspension.

The American Civil Liberties Union is providing defense and has appealed the convictions. The case will return to court July 1.

# THE MILITANT

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Friday, July 5, 1968

## What do French elections signify about May upsurge?

New York, N.Y.

Editor:

Now that the returns are coming in from the French election, I'd like to ask one simple question: Was your editorial policy concerning the French Communist Party correct, i.e., that it was "selling out" the revolution, or did the party correctly sense the basically conservative mood of France and act so as to preserve what gains it had achieved over the past eight years?

Nope, I ain't a member of the CPUSA. I'm asking my question honestly. We all remember or have read about the infighting which characterized German socialist parties before Hitler came to power. While they were busy attacking each other, Hitler slipped into power.

Isn't it time for us to stop carrying on the battles of an older generation, re-examine our doctrines and seek a common front?

It can't be done? Let's forget what our fathers and grandfathers said, OK? If we're going to hack away at the tired rhetoric of America's parties, let's do the same with all tired doctrines.

R.C.B.

*The above letter was received after the article below by George Novack was written. However, we feel it is appropriate to the central question raised by R.C.B.*

By George Novack

The first-round results of the French legislative election campaign have favored the Gaullists more than other candidates. This has led some observers to conclude that, after all, the country has bypassed any genuine revolutionary crisis, the forces upholding capitalist law and order remain all-powerful, and the masses are still inclined to seek solutions to their problems exclusively through electoral and parliamentary channels.

The French Communist Party and its echoers elsewhere loudly expound this point of view. However, it gives a superficial and misleading interpretation of the political processes which have been unfolding in France since early May because it ignores the dynamics of the confrontation of class forces on which they are based.

Those who regard the hasty elections and the composition and activity of the National Assembly which will issue from them as the most decisive factors in determining the destiny of France in the coming months suffer from that malady known as "parliamentary cretinism."

Marx and Engels gave the classical definition of this political aberration in the work they wrote in 1851-52 on the 1848 revolution entitled *Germany: Revolution and Counter-Revolution*. This book helped arm Lenin and the Bolsheviks with the strategy and tactics they followed in the fight against Menshevism in 1917.

The founders of Marxism characterized parliamentary cretinism as "a disorder which penetrates its unfortunate victims with the solemn conviction that the whole world, its history and future, are governed and determined by a majority of votes in that particular representative body which has the honor to count them among its members, and that all and everything going on outside the walls of their House . . . is nothing compared to the incommensurable events hinging upon the important question, whatever it may be, just at that moment occupying the attention of their honorable House." (Selected Works, vol. 2, p. 127.)

The victims of parliamentary illusions today fail to see that the most important factor in shaping events in France is not the outcome of the elections but the outcome of further developments in the arena of direct combat between the contending class forces.

Elections are a highly inadequate and inaccurate registration of the actual relation of forces between the ruling rich and the insurgent masses. Under present conditions their results have a symptomatic significance. They indicate in a distorted manner what the electorate thinks about the programs and performance of the various political groupings.

But the aspirations and feelings of the masses are disclosed far more by what they do than by how they vote—or do not vote. Just as the uprisings of the Afro-Americans rather than their votes for "lesser evil" Democrats show what they really want, so the strike actions, occupations of the factories, and calls for workers' power revealed the real sentiments and aims of the French workers.

The present masters of France who rely upon de Gaulle's regime constitute only a small minority of the population. They find the parliamentary game so useful because it enables them to preserve their mastery while appearing to offer a democratic consultation to the electorate.

Their agents manipulate the electoral mechanism by a cunning combination of means and measures. The current French elections provide a good example of such fraudulent procedures. These include gerrymandering election districts; monopolizing the media of

(Continued on page 5)

THE MILITANT

# French CP's electoral illusions

## CP's figleaf

New York, N.Y.

In an article in the June 18 *Worker*, T. R. Bassett feebly attempts to defend the French CP from its left critics:

"The matter of fact is that the French Communist Party, far from dragging its feet, has played a dynamic role in developments which made possible the massive May 1968 national general strike in France. The party also linked its fight for the immediate demands of the workers, students and the French masses with structural reforms that could open the way to socialism."

However, this slurs over the facts rather blatantly. Neither the CP nor the CP-dominated CGT (General Federation of Labor) ever issued a call for the general strike, and they actively tried to scuttle it—which they ultimately accomplished.

The CP favored the immediate demands of the strike, but it fought against the widespread demand for workers' power. The French CP refused to lead the workers to power. They preferred a parliamentary bargain with bourgeois parties for "structural reforms," while holding out the pious hope (as a figleaf of left cover) that these reforms "could open the way to socialism."

Luckily, there is a growing revolutionary vanguard in France that is not caught up in the CP's electoral illusions.

Arthur Maglin

## Fight to the death

Houston, Tex.  
Thanks a lot for the coverage of France and other news that you have been covering here in the U.S. Keep printing the news and the truth and we can't help but win in this fight to the death.

W.L.B.

## Lady Hawk and

## The Marines

Detroit, Mich.  
Here's a tidbit my husband came upon in a recent issue of *Leatherneck*, a magazine for U.S. Marines.

There was a picture of, and reference to, a young lady wanting to correspond with GIs fighting in Vietnam in order to boost their morale and help bring about a U.S. victory there. The lady's name? Betty Hawk.

Judy Watts

## Trotskyists lead

San Diego, Calif.  
What a tremendous improvement in *The Militant*, in appearance, ease of reading and the variety of contents; above all, the enlarged editions with the inspiring reports of the French events.

## Malcolm X The Man and His Ideas

by

George Breitman

25 cents

MERIT PUBLISHERS

873 Broadway

New York, N.Y. 10003

The reports of the French events are without question its greatest accomplishment. No matter what happens at this time, these events mark a qualitative change in the entire international situation—and the Trotskyists are playing a leading role!

Three cheers for the French students who sparked it and the workers who had the maturity to recognize the situation and the courage to join them. And just when the spotlight of international publicity was focused on the "peace talks" in Paris, which I suspect were snowed under by the action on the barricades and the paralyzing general strike.

What a glorious page the French masses have once again written in revolutionary history. Now they must—and will—build the party that will lead them to their well-earned victory!

D.T.

## Bread and wind

San Francisco, Calif.  
This time, instead of one of my long-winded letters, I am enclosing a contribution of \$10.

Dale Rasmussen

## Likes French Coverage

Philadelphia, Pa.  
Thank you for the dozen fascinating articles on the French revolt. Someone is supporting this beautiful revolution! All strength to you. I myself have been trying to organize demonstrations in Philadelphia in support of the students of France, but I have gotten frighteningly little interest. As a matter of fact, I have gotten only *token* interest, which means nothing and can get machinery for activism going only in a thousand imaginations—which don't count! What was their engaging excuse? *Finals!* An institution itself that should be abolished, and which we would have been protesting. It's soggily ironical, and it is unforgivable.

However, I enjoyed especially reading Mr. Novack's articles, which are refreshing—he does not

## Letters from our readers

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

stoop to the outdated jargon that the directive on p. 10 [Appeal to the Workers of France and the World," by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, *The Militant*, June 7] and Pierre Frank (only sometimes, but deplorably) use.

It turns on and lightens the whole chaotic scene—I can only personally thank him and you. This of course does not mean I support every phrase you printed. There were segments that were hard to swallow. I do think that the initiative lies with the students and the intelligentsia today, rather than with the workers. The workers *would not* have begun anything on their own without the catalyst of the student revolt and the bungling of it by Pompidou. The greatest militancy is in the intellectual youth, followed by the working youth and then old workers (both of which groups hold the students in awe, as do most Frenchmen). If the wind goes out of the March 22 Movement, the bag of workers' rebellion will sag into vacuum. Their morale is being bolstered and led by such student leaders as Alain Krivine and Cohn-Bendit, and not by labor ideological leaders (like Seguy). The workers, I believe, will continue to follow the students, as the prime force of revolutionary change in the Western world today.

C.B.

## Meet Socialists in Your Area

3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit 48201. (313) TE 1-6135.

**East Lansing:** YSA, Mike Maniskalco, 614 Michigan, Apt. 2. 351-0970.

**MINNESOTA:** Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240, Mpls. 55403. (612) FE 2-7781.

**MISSOURI:** St. Louis: Phone EV 9-2895, ask for Dick Clarke.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark 07101.

**NEW YORK:** Albany: YSA, Irving Sherman, 26 Willett St., Albany 12210.

**New York City:** Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (near 18th St.), N.Y. 10003. (212) 982-6051.

**OHIO:** Cleveland: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 44106. (216) 791-1669.

**Kent:** YSA, Roy S. Inglee, 123 Water St. N., Kent 44240. 673-7032.

**Yellow Springs:** Antioch YSA, Michael Schreiber, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs 45387. 767-5511.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Phila. 19130. (215) CE 6-6998.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, Charles Cairns, 1803 Enfield Ave., Austin.

**Houston:** YSA, David Shroyer, 1116 Columbus St., Houston 78703. (713) JA 9-2236.

**UTAH:** Salt Lake City: Shem Richards, 957 E. First Ave., Salt Lake 84103. (801) 355-3537.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** YSA, 3 Thomas Circle, N.W., 2nd floor, Washington, D.C., 20005. (202) 332-4635.

**WASHINGTON:** Seattle: SWP and YSA, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle 98105 (206) 523-2555.

**WISCONSIN:** Madison: YSA, 202 Marion St. (608) 256-0857.

**MICHIGAN:** Detroit: Eugene V. Debs Hall,



Washington, D.C. demonstrators



Cleveland picket line



Los Angeles protesters

# U.S. protests hit De Gaulle's ban

Demonstrations in a dozen U.S. cities June 22 protested the outlawing of left-wing groups in France and declared solidarity with the struggle of the French workers and students. All of the demonstrations had broad support among individuals and organizations in the radical, antiwar, black liberation, student and civil liberties movements.

In Atlanta, Ga., a slated demonstration at the French Consulate was sponsored by individuals associated with Atlantans for Peace, Workshop in Nonviolence, Southern Student Organizing Committee, Young Socialist Alliance, National Student Association, Atlanta Alliance for Peace, and the Committee on Social Issues at Georgia State College.

More than 75 students, radicals and antiwar activists picketed the French Consulate in Boston. Sponsors of the protest action included John Case of the *Paper Tiger*, Harold Hector of the Boston Draft Resistance Group, Neil Robertson of New England Resistance, H. Stuart Singer of the YSA, Jack Fahey of Northeastern University SDS, Professors Noam Chomsky, Howard Zinn and Louis Kampf, and Russell Johnson of the American Friends Service Committee.

In Cleveland, the demonstration at the French Consulate was endorsed by the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs; the Draft Resisters; the black nationalist House of Israel; Meat Cutters Local 500; the adult SDS group, Movement for a Democratic Society; the Ohio Peace Action Council; the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

#### Chicago Protest

A demonstration and rally was held in front of the French Consulate in Chicago under the auspices of the YSA, SDS, Vanguardia, Clark Kissinger of the Committee for Independent Political Action, Sylvia Kushner of the Chicago Peace Council and Dan Stern of CADRE (Chicago Area Draft Resisters).

In Detroit all the major television stations covered the consulate picket line sponsored by the Arab Student Association, *Black Conscience* magazine, the newspaper *Inner City Voice*, the SWP, YSA and Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle.

A hundred people in Los Angeles conducted a spirited demonstration under the sponsorship of a broadly supported ad hoc committee. At the end of the picket-line and rally, a red flag was hoisted up



ON LINE. Richard Lesnik, SWP nominee for Pennsylvania state treasurer, on Philadelphia picket line at French Consulate.

the flagpole in front of the consulate.

Ignoring a city ordinance barring red or black flags, four large red flags were prominently displayed by Minneapolis demonstrators in front of the French Consulate. The rally ended with David Thorstad, SWP congressional candidate, leading the crowd in the singing of *The Internationale*.

In New York a march was held from Columbus Circle to the French Consulate by some 200 people. A rally after the demonstration heard Paul Bouteille, SWP vice-presidential nominee; David Slavin of the Columbia Strike Committee; Fred Mazelis of the Workers League; Daniel Ramirez of the Dominican United Liberation Front; and representatives of the Iranian Student Association in the U.S. and the Spartacist League.

San Francisco's financial district was the unlikely scene of a demonstration June 18 as pickets gathered in front of the office of the French Commercial Counselor. An added quality of the action was the presence of the San Francisco Mime Troupe which marched into the area to the tune of the classic Italian revolutionary song, *Bandiera Rossa*.

#### Philadelphia Sponsors

More than 50 people from a broad range of organizations sponsored the consulate demonstration in Philadelphia. Among them were Sandy Patrinos, Philadelphia Communist Party Organizer; Stewart Meachem of the American Friends Service Committee; the Rev. David Gracie; Katherine Camp, national president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; and a number of professors and antiwar activists. Leaders of SANE, SDS, the Resistance, Philadelphia Mobilization Committee and the SWP addressed the rally.

Television and press gave good coverage to the demonstration in Seattle whose sponsors included SDS, YSA, Black Panther Party, SWP, and the University of Washington Vietnam Committee.

In the nation's capital, 75 people marched on the French Embassy accompanied by cops on foot and motorcycle. In accordance with local ordinances, they were compelled to picket 500 feet away from the embassy. Eleven radical, antiwar and black liberation groups sponsored the action. A rally heard representatives of the various groups and attorney William Higgs, defender of all good causes. Both major dailies carried prominent reports of the action.



Youthful Boston rights fighter

# An interview with a Brazilian revolutionary

By Harry Ring

While in Havana early this year, I saw the Brazilian film, "The Guns," a stark depiction of the hunger and misery suffered by the landless peasants of northeastern Brazil and the ruthless oppression they suffer at the hands of the country's military.

Also while in Havana, I had the opportunity to talk with Luis, a Brazilian revolutionary visiting Cuba.

Luis told me something of the present conditions in Brazil and of the revolutionary movement there. He told me a good deal about his own movement, Accion Popular, a leading revolutionary force in the country. In doing so, he indicated he was expressing his own views and not the official views of his party. These, he explained, are put forward by the party executive.

To understand political developments in Brazil, he said, it is necessary to understand first of all that since its inception his country has been dominated by imperialism. At first it was the Portuguese. Now it is the United States.

There are two basic conceptions of Brazil, he continued. The one, put forward by reformists, is the notion that Brazil can be regarded as an independent social and economic entity which has certain problems in relation to imperialism.

The opposing view, adhered to by the

## Brazilian students battle police

JUNE 25—Massive student demonstrations against the military regime of Brazilian strongman Costa e Silva took place last week in Rio de Janeiro and Brasilia. In Rio, police attacks led to the death of four students, and many were injured, some critically. At least 1,500 protesters were arrested in Rio, and some 200 were arrested in Brasilia.

The students raised the slogans: "Down with the dictatorship" and "Down with American imperialism."

Many workers expressed their solidarity with the embattled students. According to the respected French journal *Le Monde* (June 23-24), thousands of stones and bottles were thrown at the police from the windows of commercial buildings lining the route of march.

Student leaders in Rio declared that the demonstrations would continue this week, and authorities there declared classes at the university suspended "indefinitely."

revolutionaries, is that Brazil can be understood only as an integral part of the world imperialist structure, of which it is a product and subject part.

It is from the first thesis that the reformists — principally the Communist Party, he explained — develop the concept of the possibility of an alliance with an alleged "progressive" sector of the national bourgeoisie on the road to the completion of the bourgeois national revolution.

From the second thesis flows the concept that only a mass revolutionary struggle to tear Brazil out of the imperialist framework has any historical validity.

During the period between the first and second world wars, Luis said, the reformist thesis appeared to have a certain plausibility. The conflict between the competing imperialist powers offered a small amount of elbow room to the Brazilian oligarchy and gave an illusion of a real, if limited, power. This was so principally during the period of the 15-year Vargas dictatorship, which ended in 1945.

But after World War II, when the U.S. imperialist interests established their unchallenged hegemony over Brazil, the local oligarchy was thrown into political crisis and, instead of relative stability, there were a series of sudden, violent shifts in the ruling circles. This process reached a climax with the military coup that ended the Goulart regime in 1964 and brought the military to direct political power under Castelo Branco.

### Rule by Force

The coup, Luis said, signified that the situation in Brazil had reached the point where the U.S. masters could rule only through direct military force.

Along with military rule, U.S. investors have developed to an unequalled degree in Brazil a series of economic, social, and political measures designed to assure continuing superprofits.

There is not a significant profitable sector of the Brazilian economy that is not dominated by U.S. investors. Domination is assured by the most conscious and scientific policies. Time and money are invested in the planning and developing of resources. There is extensive socio-political research. U.S.-funded Camelot-type projects make careful studies of class relations in Brazil. The situation of the workers, peasants and students is carefully followed. Public opinion polls are frequent and extensive.

To shape the ideological life of the nation and manipulate public opinion, U.S. interests have established full domination of radio, television and the press.

The principal responsibility of the dictatorship has been to ensure an increased flow of surplus value to the United States. To this end the first act of the dictatorship was to freeze wages, despite a steady inflation.

To deal with the consequences of such a course, the coincident action was the rebuilding and reshaping of the Brazilian army. In addition to extensive antiguerrilla training by U.S. specialists, there is a unique army project that goes under the name of "Civic Action." It is considered a pilot Washington project for Latin America.

Under this project brute force is combined with a Latin version of an "antipoverty" program. Where there is guerrilla activity or other manifestation of opposition to the regime, repressive forces are sent in. After the dissidents are crushed, sociological studies are made and perhaps a hospital is built or some measure of public sanitation introduced. Prompted by Washington, university cooperation is being sought for this project.

But the occasional hospital or sewer system cannot alleviate the misery of the landless, unemployed peasant, or the drastic cuts in the living standard of the worker or middle-class person caught in the vise of a wage freeze and uncontrolled inflation.

Because of this the repressions by Castelo Branco grew more severe and finally, to relieve the mounting social pressure, he was replaced by a more "democratic" gorilla, Costa e Silva.

### New Repressive Law

But the pretense of an alleviation of the brutally repressive rule was soon abandoned and a new, even more repressive, "national security" law adopted. Under it a National Security Council rules. Military men are a majority in the Council and hold all key posts.

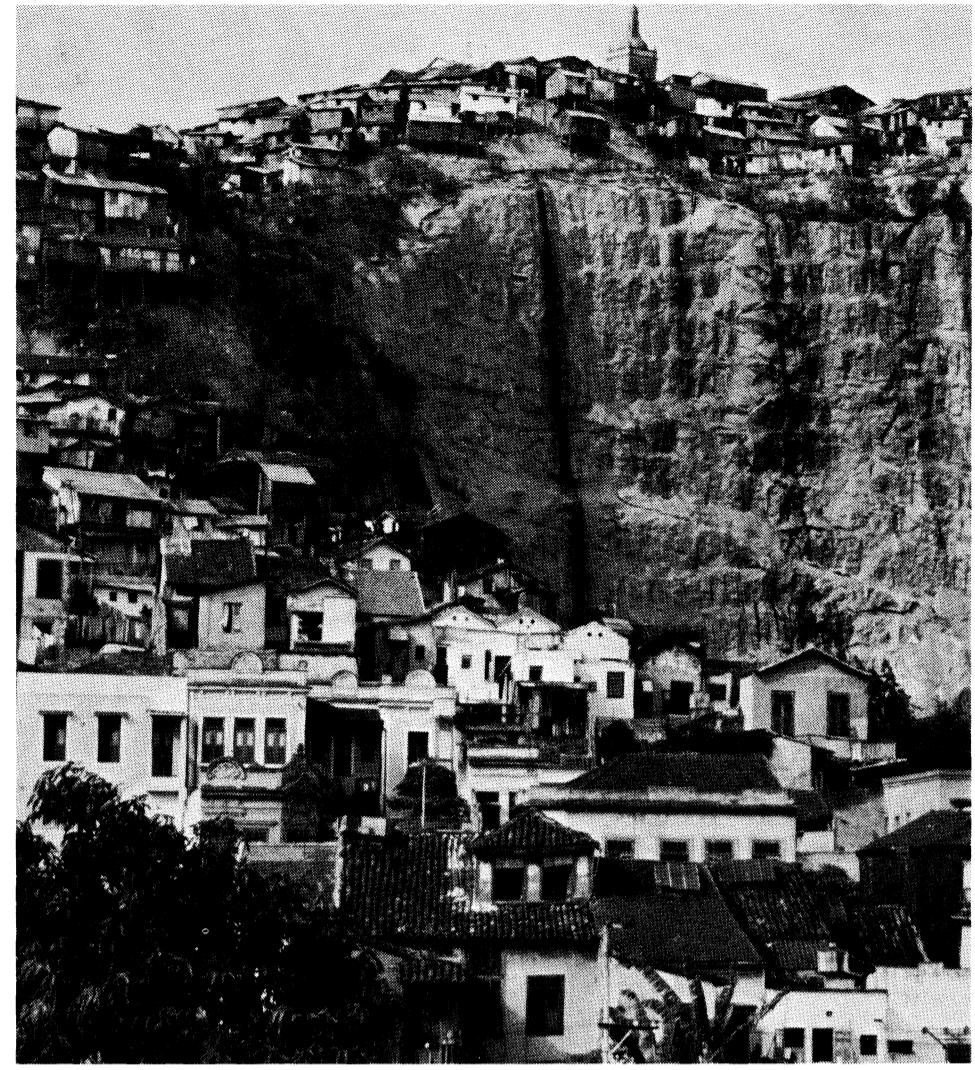
The National Congress continues to exist, but its power is solely that of ratifying the junta's decisions. It is, Luis observed, an "Amen" Congress.

Within the framework of U.S. control of all the most profitable enterprises, the local oligarchy is permitted to continue swallowing up the land. As a result, as of 1960, 20 percent of the population owned 80 percent of the land. Three percent owned 53 percent and the process of concentration continues.

If a peasant in the northeast, where this situation is most acute, is fortunate, he may obtain a few months work a year cutting sugar cane. For this he receives about \$12 a month. Because the sugar mills in the area are largely obsolete, new ones have been developed in the south. Those who work in the old ones sometimes wait eight or nine months for their meager pay. With the army directly on hand they aren't able to do much about it. Luis told me of a comrade of his who worked in one of those sugar mills and was reduced to subsisting on flour and water.

In the cities the situation is not much better. In Sao Paulo the cost of living is the same as Paris, but the wages are much lower. A house may rent for \$200 a month, Luis said, and a construction worker, for example, will earn about \$30 a month. This "privileged" worker is compelled to live in one of the *favelas*, or shantytowns that ring the major cities.

It is in this difficult situation that the liberation movement is seeking to develop.



IN RIO. Shantytown, where even skilled workers live, in Rio de Janeiro.

There are a variety of political and ideological forces at work.

Several political figures of the past head opposition movements. One of these is Leono Brizzola, who had been a political associate of Goulart's. Another is Miguel Arrais, former governor in the northeast.

The Socialist Party, whose best-known spokesman, Francisco Juliao, had led militant Peasant Leagues in the northeast, has been largely dispersed, though its efforts remain part of the tradition of the peasants, Luis told me. Juliao, who was imprisoned, is exiled in Mexico.

### Moscow-line Reformists

The Communist Party, Luis continued, has suffered considerable disintegration, but clings stubbornly to its reformist line. It presents itself, he said, as in opposition to the dictatorship, but in practice coexists with it.

"Their documents," Luis said somewhat bitterly, "are full of mystifying talk about the 'electoral process,' 'peaceful transition,' 'progressive sectors of the bourgeoisie,' and so on."

Promoting trade with the USSR, he added, seems to be their principal preoccupation. This coincides with the approach of Moscow which, Luis observed, seems to prefer Brazilian coffee to Cuban.

The USSR has extended significant aid to the Brazilian oligarchy, Luis said. It gave credit of \$100 million to Castelo Branco. Recently it concluded a technical aid agreement with the Brazilian Ministry of Education.

Not surprisingly, the Brazilian CP is bitterly opposed to the line of revolutionary armed struggle projected by OLAS, the Organization of Latin American Solidarity. In fact it didn't even participate in the OLAS conference held in Havana last August.

A December 1967 Political Resolution of the party declared: "The Sixth Congress considers that it was correct not to send any representative of our party to the meeting of OLAS. The decisions of OLAS are opposed to the fundamental political and tactical line of our party."

Meanwhile, Luis told me, his own party, Accion Popular, has continued to develop in a revolutionary Marxist direction.

A national organization with bases in all parts of the country, AP was founded in 1962 by student leaders who had been carrying on political activity among the workers and peasants.

The initiators of AP have been, since 1961, the central leaders of the National Union of Students. At their founding Congress, they adopted a political program projecting a socialist solution for Brazil and mapped expanded mass activity. Until the time of the coup in '64, they were able to develop a significant degree of support for their revolutionary program, particularly among the students and peasants, and played a leading role in a number of important peasant struggles.

With the coup they were declared illegal, and the junta even designated a receiver to act as custodian of party property. However, a shift of assets had already been arranged.

Shortly after the coup, the party met and redefined its role as one of organizing armed struggle for the liberation of Brazil. The struggle, the party emphasized, must have a mass character.

The strategic line and organizational character of the movement was reshaped to meet the needs of an underground fight. A program of activity among workers, peasants and students was projected, with a clear realization that victory would not come quickly or easily.

In the course of its underground work, Luis said, the movement has acquired a new and deeper understanding of Marxism-Leninism as an essential weapon in the struggle. "We have worked to apply Marxism in a creative way, free of dogmatism and without becoming ossified," he said. "We seek a unification of theory and practice in which practice does not suffer."

### In the Face of Difficulties

Despite the difficulties, work has been carried on. The party publishes a national clandestine paper for the education of its cadres and local ones for popular distribution.

Work is carried on in the unions even though they are in the viselike grip of bureaucrats who cooperate with the dictatorship. Party members seek to utilize concrete issues to develop class-consciousness and opposition to the bureaucracy and regime.

Thus far two workers' demonstrations against the dictatorship have been organized by the party. One of them, in Sao Paulo, was of significant size. There were victimizations, Luis said, but there was serious political value in that they were the very first workers' manifestations against the regime.

The student movement has been the most aggressive in its opposition to the junta and it is within the student movement that the line between reformism and revolutionary policies was first drawn.

The students have also been in the forefront, Luis said, in the development of an anti-imperialist consciousness. They have held militant demonstrations in solidarity with Vietnam.

Congresses of the National Union of Students in 1966 and 1967 were turned into major demonstrations of opposition to the ruling clique, and large detachments of troops were sent in to quell them.

A number of party members have been sentenced to prison but so far have not been apprehended.

Despite the difficulties, the morale of the movement is good, Luis said. "We know we have a hard road," he commented, "but then we have the example of the Vietnamese."

# Eyewitness to cop brutality in Paris

The following eyewitness accounts of the sadistic treatment of Paris students by the CRS (paramilitary security police) appeared in the June 17 issue of the West German weekly *Der Spiegel*.

#### *Statement of a 28-year-old woman:*

Along with about 10 other people on the night of May 24-25 at about 1:30 in the morning I ran into the entrance of No. 27, Boulevard Saint-Michel. Suddenly about ten CRS cops with screams like nothing I have ever heard and armed with rubber truncheons and shields stormed into the entranceway. We ran up the stairs and knocked on all the doors, but to no avail. Finally, a young man kicked open a door to get his pregnant wife into a safe place. I rushed in after him.

The apartment was unoccupied and there was no furniture we could hide behind. The young couple fled into the bathroom. But shortly afterwards the CRS broke down the door and attacked the couple. I had hidden in another room which by some miracle they did not come into. I heard how the woman screamed, "I'm pregnant." But she was beaten anyway. "You slut, you'll soon find out how pregnant you are." They left the almost unconscious pregnant woman lying in the doorway.



**SPECIAL FORCES.** Guardes Mobiles, like the CRS a special police force, wait with sick smiles for order to attack students. Below, wounded demonstrator.



#### *Statement of a medical student:*

When we got out of the van, a double row of police received us, making us run a gauntlet of rubber truncheons. Among us were high-school boys and girls who were all around 17 years old. Although the girls were in tears and completely hysterical, they were mistreated in the most infamous way and beaten again and again. I got a blow in the testicles. Another man got three furious blows in the same place. Because of his pain, he could not answer the increasingly maddened cops.

The girls, who were all very young, were beaten on their sexual organs. The foulest insults were heaped on them. They were threatened with rape. Then we were stuffed in a cell and had to stand tightly crowded together. The air was stifling. There was only one tiny opening . . . Sweat saturated the air, running down the walls. The stench was unbearable. The toilets were stopped up.

Outside we heard someone say: "Wouldn't it be fun to toss a few tear-gas grenades in there." And: "We should pour gasoline over them and burn them all."

#### *Statement of a volunteer nurse arrested in an ambulance:*

Beaujon was a kind of concentration camp. As we got out of the police van, blows rained on us. After being driven through a gauntlet of CRS cops, I came into a barbed-wire enclosure. From time to time, the CRS vans brought in men and women who had been beaten or were suffering from tear-gas poisoning. Some of them had serious head wounds and broken arms. Chinese, Vietnamese and Negroes were given especially brutal treatment.

One by one we were taken into different enclosures. A CRS cop yelled at me: "Come here, Goldilocks, and I'll give you a shearing." A CRS sergeant intervened. But I saw that a young girl in front of me had her hair forcibly shaved off.

I was locked in a cell . . . Through the bars I could see out into the court. A half-naked young man went by, his legs lacerated by club blows. He was bleeding and constantly had to urinate. From a young woman who was with him I learned that the CRS had beaten him unconscious and then spread him out and beaten his genitals until the skin hung in tatters.

Young girls were brought in. Among them was a 16-year-old girl who had been arrested by the CRS on the Boulevard Saint-Michel. They had dragged her into a police van where four cops gang-raped her.



**RED FLAG.** Rank and file unionists demonstrated 800,000 strong May 29 at call of General Confederation of Labor. Demonstration was characterized by sea of red flags of socialist revolution. Here, contingent of atomic workers marches. The next day, May 30, de Gaulle made a four minute speech, and leaders of CP and CGT beat a cowardly retreat and intensified their drive to dissipate revolutionary upsurge.

## ... French elections

(Continued from page 2)

mass communications, radio, TV, the press; deceiving the voters about the issues; inciting false fears; and preventing revolutionary voices from being heard.

Confronted with the unparalleled mass offensive, de Gaulle first called for a referendum, that is, another vote of confidence in his authoritarian rulership. As soon as he saw that the people would not renew that mandate, he turned around and decreed immediate elections to replace the immobilized National Assembly in which the Gaullists had only an unreliable two-vote majority.

He prohibited any public demonstrations during the brief election period. His premier outlawed 11 of the left-wing organizations which had headed the mass movement and his secret police rounded up their leaders and kept them incommunicado. Revolutionary publications could not be issued while the press controlled by big business circulated by the millions. The student youth who were in the forefront of the anti-Gaullist movement were disfranchised by age. The superexploited foreign workers had neither voice nor vote. Despite the prolonged protest strikes of the personnel against official censorship, the government contrived to keep hold of its radio-TV monopoly.

While seeking to reinforce its own dictatorial grip on the country by pardoning and releasing convicted fascist and ultra-right military conspirators, the whole Gaullist apparatus hammered on the theme that France was threatened by "totalitarian dictatorship." Thus the capitalists in power gained an edge by holding the elections in an atmosphere of fraud, force, and fear.

Even so, the Gaullist bloc got about as many votes as the ten million workers who participated in the general strike, occupied the plants, ran up the red flag, thereby indicating their desire for a radical change. However, these two magnitudes do not have equivalent social, economic and political weight. If the ten million strikers and their allies had been correctly oriented and directed, they could have counted for far more than the mixed bag of votes gathered by the right-wing camp.

The Gaullist defenders of capitalism were well aware of this fact. They scheduled the elections so hastily in order to take the struggle away from streets and the factories and divert it through the ballot box and the National Assembly where it could be dissipated and talked to death.

The Communist Party leaders approved this electoral maneuver because they were as fearful of the fight for power carried on by the students and strikers, and as anxious to shuffle it away, as were the Gaullists. They vied with the reactionaries in presenting themselves as the guardians of "republican legality and order" against the ultra-left "anarchists and adventurers." They attributed the increased Gaullist vote, not to their own cowardly conduct in the crisis, but to the evil machinations of "the leftist groups manipulated by the Interior Ministry," a slanderous attack upon the defensive actions of the students and workers against police violence.

The ingrained reformist illusions of the Stalinists were best expressed by the Communist spokesman who declared that, just as de Gaulle could substitute the Fifth Republic for the Fourth after receiving 80 percent of the vote in a plebiscite, so the CP could not and would not move for a revolutionary change in France until and unless it had obtained a similar percentage of the vote. This is more than a lame excuse for its gross default in a revolutionary situation; it is a fatal attitude for a workers' party to have in a capitalist state.

The Social Democratic reformists have long refused on principle to introduce socialist measures before they attained a parliamentary majority—and, even where they did do so in Scandinavia, they failed to touch the foundations of capitalist power and property. Now the Stalinists have taken over their policy and perspective.

Such a course contains catastrophic consequences for the working class—and democracy itself. The political executives of big business rarely suffer from any idolization of electoral processes or parliamentarism and are not handicapped by such a crippling disease. When the relation of class forces runs against them and democratic legality can no longer safeguard their domination, they do not hesitate to scrap it in favor of military or fascist dictatorship, as Greece has just shown.

During the 1930's that happened in Germany, Austria, Spain, and France itself in 1937-38 after the victory of the Popular Front. Still more ominous are the precedents set by de Gaulle himself in both 1944-47 and 1958 when he became the spearhead of capitalist reaction and installed his personal rule in place of the supremacy of parliament.

Does it take much foresight to recognize that the General intends to repeat in 1968 what he did in 1944-47 and in 1958 and, if necessary, with far more ferocity?

Even at this moment his regime does not rest upon the National Assembly. He holds himself above parliament. His rule is based upon presidential decrees implemented by his bureaucratic apparatus, the police and army. That is the real center of state power, not the castrated Assembly. This Bonaparte is getting ready to proceed with harsh punitive measures against worker and student resistance once the electoral farce is off the stage.

He views the elections as a stopgap which can serve, with the help of the CP, to demobilize the masses. As soon as the situation is restabilized and the offensive of the workers is broken, he counts on reversing the relation of forces by resort to repression.

However, this operation will be easier to plot than to carry out. Although the workers have discontinued their strike, they have not gone back to the job defeated or demoralized. Their forces are intact. The direction France will take in the months ahead will be determined, not by a powerless Assembly and its debates, but by the result of the next encounters between the radicalized masses and the ruling powers.



**STILL FIGHTING.** Vietnamese liberation fighters continue their struggle against the long, murderous U.S. assault. Their tenacity has inspired revolutionaries throughout the world and has been a major factor in international upsurge of revolutionary struggle. Vietnamese have on a number of occasions stated their

view that U.S. antiwar demonstrations have been a major contribution to liberation movement and have expressed their hope for continuing mass actions. Would anyone in the U.S. seriously concerned with revolutionary solidarity tell these fighters, "We're tired of marching"?

# Why SMC exclusionists duck issues

By Harry Ring and Lew Jones

A rather curious event took place at the New York Militant Labor Forum on the evening of June 21. Linda Morse, executive secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, debated Lew Jones, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, on the issues behind the present crisis in the SMC. Linda Morse spent most of her time trying to demonstrate that there really were no significant issues in dispute. Those who took her word for it surely must have then wondered what the fireworks are all about.

Lew Jones explained that the SMC Working Committee majority was moving to the right politically, that it was retreating from

the struggle against the Vietnam war and taking a course that would inevitably lead to the dissolution of the SMC into an ineffectual multi-issue hodgepodge.

This exclusionist grouping, he explained, had fired Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton from the staff of SMC because, as members of the Young Socialist Alliance, they were insisting that SMC continue on the course agreed on at its national conference—organizing mass action against the war and opposing the draft, racism and campus complicity with the war.

Wherever there has been an effort to purge revolutionary socialists from a movement, Jones emphasized, it has, without exception, been a sure sign that those trying to conduct the purge are either moving to the

right politically or are there already.

Linda Morse responded by asserting that she fully agreed on the need for continuing mass demonstrations against the war. But there is a need in addition, she said, for more antidraft activity and for more campuses organizing by SMC.

She added that she did not favor SMC becoming a multi-issue movement but did feel that the coalition must broaden its scope of activity to include the fight against white racism.

Moreover, she said, she favored the Continuations Committee of SMC supporting the Aug. 3 antiwar demonstration being organized by the New York Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee and organizing similar Aug. 3 demonstrations throughout the country.

And, as if to underline her commitment to a radical position, she advised the audience that if she had to choose between the YSA for leadership of the American revolution as against the Communist Party, there would be no contest. It would be the YSA.

#### Curious Situation

This is certainly a curious situation. Linda Morse asserts that politically she is far closer to the YSA than to the CP. Yet she is the principal spokesman for a group on the Working Committee that is in a bloc with the CP to deny YSA members the right to function on the SMC staff and whose currently charted course would destroy the movement.

In a political dispute, when someone declares agreement with the left and then proceeds to bloc with the right against the left, the only logical conclusion to be drawn is that their radicalism is really of a verbal character and serves only to provide a left cover for a group with a basically reformist outlook.

In her Militant Labor Forum presentation, Linda Morse tried to avoid respons-

sibility for the right-wing views expressed by those she is associated with in the exclusionist "independent" caucus, by asserting, "We all have different ideas."

(It was necessary for her to state this after Art Goldberg, 33-year-old voting member of the Working Committee of the student body, got up in the discussion period to voice his now well-known opposition to the antiwar coalition organizing mass demonstrations.)

If it is really true that the "independent" caucus is simply a conglomeration of individuals holding a variety of differing ideas, then one must ask just what is the purpose of their caucus. If it doesn't have ideas in common, is it simply a clique out to grab control of the organization?

There is a strong element of fact to such an estimate. But there is also another element involved. When people band together without consideration of political program, they invariably find themselves being used by people who do have a program. A "caucus" without a program becomes a tool for people with a program that they prefer not to present openly.

For example, the CP wants the movement to give up organizing radical demonstrations against the war and get into reformist electoral politics. They would far rather smuggle such ideas in and have them put into practice piecemeal than to state openly and frankly something that they know would alienate every militant opponent of the war.

#### Real Program

This aspect—a caucus without a program being used by people who do have one—is quite apparent in the case of the SMC exclusionists. Linda Morse may assure a meeting of the Militant Labor Forum that she's all for a continuing struggle against the war and for continuing mass action. But meanwhile members of her caucus are mapping a program of action

## The French example

I think the effectiveness of the Student Mobilization Committee and the antiwar movement rests upon its ability to mobilize more and more American people against the war, and not just mobilize them but mobilize them in action—in street action. That's the crucial thing.

Now if that requires a mobilization every six months, so be it. There can be action, there can be drama and imagination and so on. But I can give you an example of how that action can be effective and what I hope to see in this country. In fact I'm pretty sure we will see it.

You'll note that a couple of weeks ago there was a general strike in France. Well, it's a fact—a fact—that that general strike was started by antiwar activity. The French National Vietnam Committee held a demon-

stration in front of the American Express. The cops attacked it and arrested one of my comrades, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth, a sister organization of the YSA.

The French National Vietnam Committee organized that demonstration. Out of that came a demonstration that seized the building to protest the police action. And out of that, the thing spread to the campuses and eventually the working class itself was mobilized.

It's that kind of action here in this country that I think we want to look forward to. It's reaching out, trying to draw people into activity to the point where we will bring this country to a stop, if necessary, to end this war.

—Lew Jones in reply to a question during debate with Linda Morse.

## Letter from Leslie Cagan

I would like to inform you that in your article on the difficulties within the SMC in the June 21 issue (page 9) I was misquoted. The quote reads, in the paper, "students have moved from a mobilizing mentality to a student mentality." What I had said in my position paper was that students have moved from a "mobilizing mentality to an *organizing* mentality." I realize that the mistake was an accident and nothing intentional.

You also, though, did refer to me as an "exclusionist." I do not feel that I have to once again explain my position here—I explain it in my position paper. Perhaps a closer reading of it on your part would be in order. In any event, I do not feel the term "exclusionist" can justifiably be applied to my attitude or position vis-a-vis the situation in SMC at this point. I do hope that in the future you shall be a bit more selective in the terms you use to describe people.

Thank you.

## ... and a reply

We regret the garbled quotation; it was the result of a typographical error.

We were selective with the terms we used. We referred to Leslie Cagan as an exclusionist on the basis of her record. She was among those on the SMC Working Committee who voted for the original exclusionary motion that only "independents" could be members of the SMC staff. The result was the voluntary resignation of Communist Party representative Phyllis Kalb (who voted for the exclusion motion) and the firing of Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton, members of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Leslie Cagan was among those who then voted the following week to formally rescind the indefensible exclusionary motion and then voted to reaffirm the practical result of that motion—the firing of the two Young Socialists.

In her position paper, Leslie Cagan concedes that all political viewpoints should be represented on the Working Committee. But she repeats the argument that staff members should be selected solely on the basis of individual "merit," and that there must be no "slots" on the staff for the political groupings that are part of the coalition constituting SMC.

This is but one more formula for retaining the policy of political exclusion while formally disclaiming it. (The first "official" document issued by the "independent" caucus boasts there is presently not a single member of a political grouping on staff!)

Clearly, unqualified individuals should not be SMC staff members. But if there is to be a genuine coalition, including organizations and independents, the principle of nonexclusion must be applied on all levels of the organization. It is meaningless to say that political groupings should have a voice in policy-making and then add there is no reason why they need participate in implementing policy through representation on staff.

You can't have it both ways. If the staff is simply a purely technical-administrative body, in no way involved with policy, then there is little justification for a fight to keep members of political groupings off staff.

### No "Slots"?

If, on the other hand—as is the reality—staff members have the responsibility of interpreting and imple-

menting policy, then either the various groupings involved in setting those policies have the right to join in implementing them or they are, in fact, victims of political exclusion. The truth of the matter is that there must be "slots" for the political groupings and the independents if the coalition is to survive.

Nor are we impressed by the assertion that Dawson and Stapleton were fired for implementing policies other than those of SMC. Even if that were true—which it is not—such a sweeping action should have been submitted to the democratic decision of a broader body than the Working Committee.

Further, in the interest of avoiding a costly struggle in the SMC, both the YSA and SWP accepted an invitation from Dave Dellinger to a mediation meeting. They also responded to and put forward the proposal made by Dellinger that Stapleton and Dawson be returned to the staff and then withdraw, and that Lew Jones of YSA be added to the staff.

At that meeting Linda Morse, and others associated with her, accepted this proposal. Later, they, other "independents" and the CPers on the Working Committee voted down this compromise proposal, which would have afforded them the opportunity to demonstrate that it was not merely a smoke-screen when they formally rescinded the exclusionary motion. (The only YSAer they said they were willing to put on staff was Howard Petrick—who, it had been already explained, was not available!)

### The Real Issue

What is involved in the demand for the reinstatement of Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton is not simply justice for two outstanding builders of SMC, but also a most compelling political issue.

The whole history of the violation of the nonexclusion principle demonstrates that such violations are inevitably used to shift the movement to the right.

The exclusion of revolutionary socialists from the staff of SMC is one more expression of that kind of political development. That is why the correct name of the so-called independent caucus is the *exclusionist caucus*, and the deadly objective political logic of their actions is a move to the right and a retreat from the fight to get the U.S. troops out of Vietnam.

—Lew Jones and Harry Ring

this and other position papers, but to simply "implement" them!)

This program would have antiwar activists spend the summer as "white civilizing teams," leafleting white workers to explain to them—"using the logic of the community"—how Afro-Americans have been "culturally deprived," etc.

Such a program is, at best, a sorry substitute for a program of struggle against those responsible for racism in this country—the capitalist class and its government.

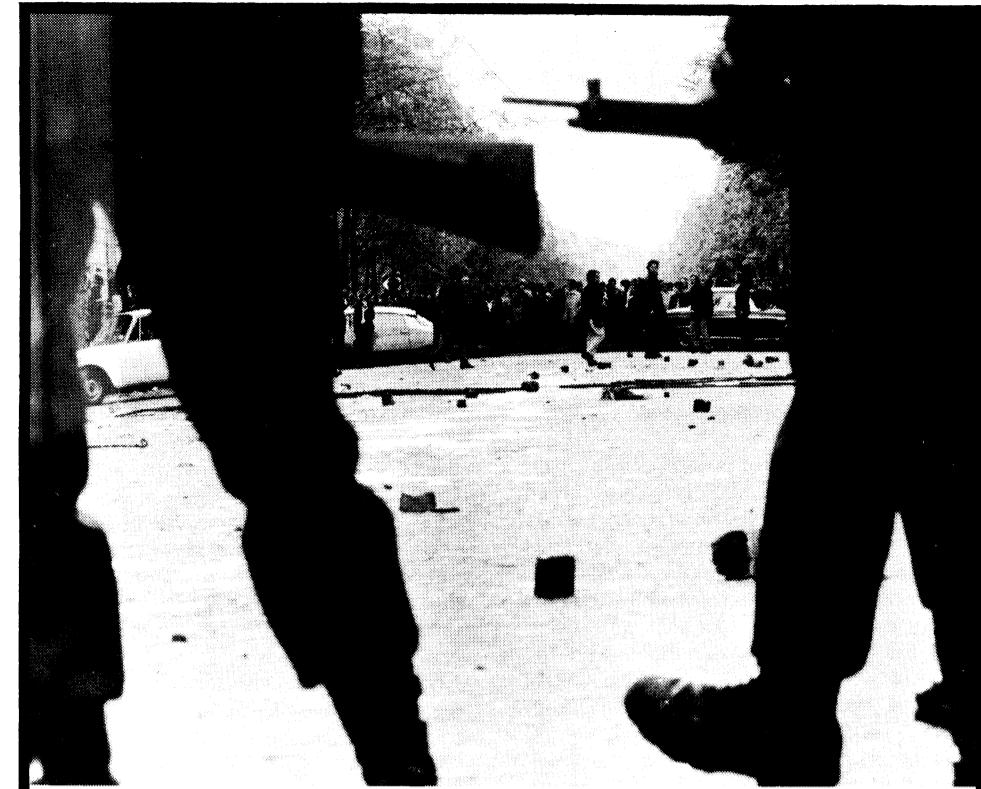
### Draft Issue

Similarly with the draft. Continuing escalation of the war, continuing large draft calls and continuing curtailment of student deferments are increasing opposition to the draft. The movement has the duty, as part of the fight against the war, to mobilize mass opposition to the draft. To substitute individual draft-counseling for such mobilizing efforts is, again, a retreat from the real struggle.

It is precisely such things, however, that the CP is egging on the exclusionist caucus

Bronx, N.Y.

Sincerely,  
Leslie Cagan  
SMC Coordinator



De Gaulle's cops prepare to advance on students.

## Your help is needed!

Since the outbreak of the French revolutionary struggle, The Militant has extended itself far beyond its normal resources to assure comprehensive, firsthand reporting and analysis of these momentous events, including sending two reporters and two photographers to France. For weeks we have been publishing 12 pages instead of our usual eight.

Now the repressions against revolutionary movements in France make our special coverage particularly vital. De Gaulle's outlawing of the French Trotskyist movement and other revolutionaries demands the widest exposure. This is essential if there is to be an effective movement of solidarity with these persecuted revolutionaries who have played such a key role in the French events.

Gaining that publicity is made more difficult by the curtain of silence imposed by both the capitalist press and that section of the world press controlled by the pro-Moscow Communist parties.

Our coverage of the French events has included an exclusive interview with Alain Krivine, leader of the outlawed Revolutionary Communist Youth; an interview with young Renault workers; firsthand accounts of the fighting on the barricades of the Latin Quarter; eyewitness reports of the massive labor-student demonstrations.

As necessary, we will continue to publish special 12-page issues to cover the continuing French developments.

In addition, we are putting aside our regular biweekly summer schedule. The Militant will appear every week throughout the summer.

Supporters of The Militant are organizing special sales to bring the paper to wider layers of students and workers.

All of this requires a heavy financial outlay in addition to our normally strained budget. WE NEED YOUR HELP!

Help us finance the regular weekly Militant throughout the summer. Help publish 12-page issues as needed. Help the circulation drive. SEND AS GENEROUS A FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION AS YOU CAN. DO IT TODAY!

----- clip and mail -----

The Militant, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Yes, I want to help finance The Militant's special coverage of the French events.

Enclosed is my contribution of . . . . .

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to push for. Every move to divert the SMC from mass action against the war has the full support of the CP. And the attempt to purge the movement of revolutionary socialists is something they vote for with both hands.

It is not blind factional animosity to the Trotskyists alone that drives them to this reactionary position. Their pro-exclusionary stand is, in a sense, a tribute to the YSAers in SMC. The CP and those pacifists blocking with them recognize that the YSA has been among the prime builders of a radical SMC. They calculate—with good reason—that they've got to somehow get rid of the Trotskyists if they want the SMC to take the reformist course they advocate.

And that's why it's simply double-talk for people like Linda Morse to insist they disagree with the CP on just about every issue—except, of course, the "small" one of excluding YSAers from the staff.

Those who bloc with reformist groups like the Communist Party to purge a movement of revolutionists are in fact objectively in a bloc to carry out a reformist political

line of running away from the struggle to stop the war. All of the left-wing verbiage in the world can't cover up that fact.

There must be room for every kind of disagreement among antiwar activists within the SMC on policy, strategy and tactics. But such disagreements can be resolved in a meaningful way only if the principle of nonexclusion is maintained and if disagreements are settled through democratic discussion and decision by the entire movement. It can't be done by trying to exclude those you disagree with and by utilizing posts to try to cram a policy down the throat of the movement.

The present crisis in SMC can be resolved if the policy of nonexclusion is reestablished by reinstating Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton and if a national conference of the entire movement is convened to democratically decide the disputed issues.

Meanwhile, there's still a war on, and serious opponents of that war have the obligation to mobilize action against it. If the antiwar movement doesn't do this, who will?

# How banned youth organized in France

By Mary-Alice Waters

*Mary-Alice Waters, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance has recently returned from France, where she was part of a team of reporters and photographers covering the recent events there for The Militant.*

During the eventful weeks of May and June 1968 in France, hardly a day passed when the mass-circulation French papers did not mention the Trotskyist Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire (JCR—Revolutionary Communist Youth) and the role it was playing in the struggle. Along with the March 22 Movement and the National Union of French Students (UNEF), the JCR was one of the central youth organizations constantly referred to; and it was clearly recognized as the most important revolutionary Marxist youth group.

The JCR won this reputation in relatively short order. It was formed only two years ago, in April 1966, by several hundred militants who either had been expelled from the Union of Communist Students (UEC), or had been members of the Sorbonne section of the UEC that was dissolved by the Communist Party bureaucracy.

While the left-wing militants had challenged the CP leadership on a whole series of questions—the Algerian war, NATO, the defense of the Vietnamese revolution—the CP decided they had stepped a little too far out of line in the fall of 1965 when they refused to support Francois Mitterrand, a "left" capitalist politician, in the last general elections. That crowning "insolence" from the upstart young rebels led to the expulsions and the dissolution of the largest and most influential UEC section in France.

#### Vietnam and Cuba

Centering their activities around the defense of the Vietnamese and Cuban revolutions, the JCR grew rapidly to an organization of 600 to 700 militants, with groups in over 30 cities in France. They developed fraternal relations with revolutionary youth groups all over the world, such as SDS (German Socialist Student Federation) and the Young Socialist Alliance in the United States.

The crucial test for all revolutionary organizations in France came sooner than any of them had expected. Under these circumstances the fact that the JCR emerged as the leadership of the revolutionary youth of France is a verification, once again, of the historical relevance of the traditions

#### Deutscher book published in Czechoslovakia

An important step forward in the course of the de-Stalinization process in Czechoslovakia has carried the Czech liberalization beyond any previous such experience. The West German weekly *Der Spiegel* of June 23 reported: *Literarni Listy* [the liberal Czech literary weekly] . . . (which has a circulation of 300,000) even included a picture of a communist whose name to this day must be pronounced with horror in the Soviet Union: Stalin's enemy, Trotsky. With this portrait, the paper began publication of Isaac Deutscher's book, *The Unfinished Revolution*, which projects a new proletarian revolution for the Soviet Union."

JCR buttons 25¢



On orders of 20 or more, 17c each.  
Order from: Young Socialist Alliance,  
P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New  
York, N.Y. 10003

of Bolshevism, and a tribute to the JCR's ability to meet that acid test for all who claim to be revolutionists—a revolutionary upsurge.

From the opening rounds of the current convulsions sweeping France, the JCR was in the center of the fight. At Nanterre where the university rebellion began, the JCR led the National Vietnam Committee and was the dominant political tendency in UNEF. It was a JCR member, charged with organizing an antiwar demonstration, who was arrested on March 21. His arrest touched off the occupation of the university and the formation of the March 22 Movement, of which the JCR was an integral component from the beginning.

#### On the Barricades

The JCR helped organize the defense of the Sorbonne against fascist gangs on May 3, and it played a key role in leading the student demonstrations in early May, up to and including the biggest night of the barricades, May 10-11.

As the social upheaval spread and the French working class unleashed the most powerful general strike in history, opportunities opened for the revolutionary students to link up with the most politically advanced elements of the working class. Despite the attempts of the CP bureaucracy to prevent the students and workers from "fraternizing," the students marched to the Renault plant at Billancourt to symbolize their solidarity, called for joint demonstrations, and together with the workers, housewives, and anyone else who was interested, initiated Action Committees all over France.

In dozens of Action Committees the JCR militants were the central political force, organizing activities in support of the strikers, distributing leaflets, building street demonstrations, organizing for the occupation of new industries and shops, and holding political discussions.

In the high schools, JCR members were the backbone of CAL, the High School Action Committees. They occupied dozens of major high schools in Paris alone, and one of the important side effects of the struggle is that they are already forcing major revisions in the French high-school curriculum.

#### Opposed Union Bureaucrats

In the factories and shops, to the extent they were able, they fought for the formation of genuine, elected strike committees and opposed the attempts of the union bureaucrats to force the strikers back to work with only meager gains.

The center of operations for all revolutionary organizations was the Sorbonne, where thousands of students, and non-students too, participated in continuous meetings, discussing every conceivable topic.

In the Sorbonne courtyard the JCR had a literature table that operated almost on a 24-hour schedule. The overwhelming leap in political consciousness, and the ceaseless search for answers to the social crisis, meant that students and others were anxious to buy and read anything that might offer some explanation. Books that had been gathering dust on the shelves for years disappeared as soon as they were put on the tables. Leaflets and papers were snatched out of distributors' hands faster than they could be passed out.

Students were also anxious to listen and discuss. Four- and five-hour meetings, with an initial short presentation followed by long discussion, were considered normal. The JCR held open forums in the Sorbonne every day at 5:00 p.m. Regardless of the

#### Humphrey's view of Black America

Hustling Hubert, who likes to pretend he is a "friend" of black people, blames TV for the uprisings in the ghettos. "If the media are going to broadcast the emotional appeals of the Stokely Carmichael," he writes in the July 9 issue of *Look*, "it is like throwing gasoline on the flames. I have discovered even in my campaign that Negro youth particularly like to get on television. Half of the jumping, pushing and shoving that goes on in a campaign is a desire on the part of the youngster in the ghetto to have some publicity, to see his picture on television."



Mary-Alice Waters interviews JCR leader Alain Krivine.

Photo by Hermes

day's topic (and often it was not announced in advance) the room was filled to overflowing. To get a seat you had to arrive 10 or 15 minutes early and there were always several hundred turned away. Even when the JCR used the biggest amphitheater at the Sorbonne, holding close to 3,000, there were still hundreds outside clamoring to get in. The surprising thing about these meetings was that they were almost entirely composed of non-JCR members. They were students and others who were by and large sympathetic and anxious to hear what the JCR had to say.

#### Central Role

The role of the JCR became more and more important as the struggle deepened and the need for organization and clear political analysis became more evident. No major student actions were planned or decisions made without consulting with the JCR.

Because of this central leadership role, the JCR's influence grew enormously and

this was reflected in the membership of the organization as well. Between the first of May and the middle of June, the JCR more than doubled in size. This increase was registered all over France, testifying to the key role played by the JCR in the provinces as well as Paris.

The JCR has now been dissolved by the Gaullist government, but the revolutionary socialist youth of France have responded to this repression with the announcement that the JCR continues. JCR leaflets and papers continue to appear; JCR leaders continue to play an open and public role.

Two and a half years ago the Communist Party of France thought it could wave a magic wand and make the revolutionary youth disappear. To its horror, these same youth, strengthened many times over, came back to haunt it in the revolutionary days of May 1968.

In all likelihood, the Gaullist government will be no more successful.

## Are you with the revolutionary socialist youth of France?

## Join the same kind of political movement here—the Young Socialist Alliance!

In France, the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) has played a central role in the battles on the barricades of the French students and workers.

Here, the Young Socialist Alliance, American counterpart of the JCR, basing itself on the same program, is organizing and fighting for the same socialist goal.

If that's what you are aiming toward—if you support: black power, Cuba, the colonial revolution, Vietnamese liberation fighters, the antiwar movement, the fight for socialist democracy in Eastern Europe, revolutionary socialist candidates, a socialist America

Then you belong in the Young Socialist Alliance.

clip and mail

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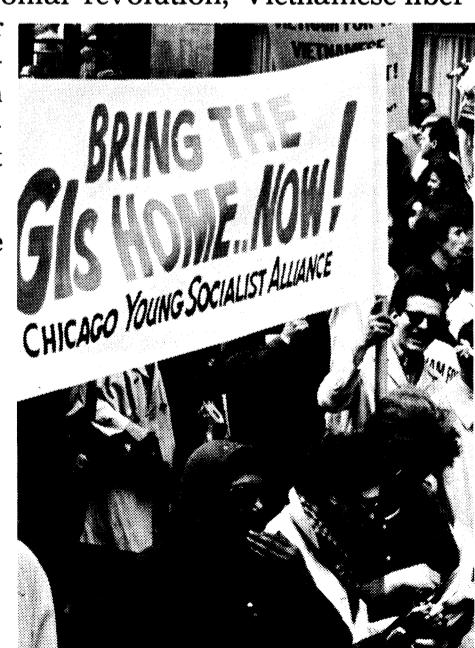
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City .....

State .....

Zip .....



On April 15, 1967 antiwar demonstration

# Revolutionary youth advancing in Europe

The daily press in the U.S., as part of its systematic effort to play down the French events, has reported very little about the revolutionary youth groups involved in the actions.

The lords of the British press, however, have taken a different approach. Seriously disturbed by the depth of revolutionary sentiment across the Channel, they have been giving extensive coverage of the developing youth movement in France and in Europe generally. Of course, this coverage has been from a hostile viewpoint, and an attempt is made to paint a picture of violent conspirators—for example, in the article below: "Krivine dispatched one of his key agitators" to speak in Belgium.

The following are excerpts from an article by Malcolm Southan which appeared in the June 7 London Sun.

The student revolt which now challenges Western Europe began—as nearly as anyone can put a date on it—in October, 1966, in the big Belgian industrial town of Liege.

Several thousand representatives from the increasingly vocal student organizations of Europe had gone there to march against the Vietnam war and NATO . . .

After the Liege demonstration there was an informal conference. Here, for the first time, the young hotheads of Europe, the students from the movements who were soon to matter, got down to business . . .

The loose organization which emerged from that meeting has been called the Vanguard Youth Movement or, more commonly, the Brussels Conference.

Since Liege in '66, two other large-scale formal meetings of the Conference have already taken place. The first was in Brussels in February, 1967, and the latest was three months ago in West Berlin, staged by Rudi Dutschke's famous SDS (German

Student Socialist Organization), which joined the Brussels Conference last year.

Equally important, an international ad hoc committee of student and youth leaders was established, and they still meet at two- or three-month intervals in Paris, Brussels, Frankfurt, Berlin and other European cities.

The organization's leaders plan to hold their next meeting in Strasbourg in a few weeks.

As a result of all this, the German Dutschke, who was almost killed a few weeks ago by an assassin, is constantly in touch with Alain Krivine, the composed extremist who heads the French JCR [Jeunesse Communiste—Revolutionnaire—Revolutionary Communist Youth].

French and German students keep in contact with Belgian firebrands and also with Tariq Ali, the highly literate Pakistani who headed the Grosvenor Square demonstration [in Britain] . . .

The links developed have proved lasting and highly effective . . .

Hundreds of foreign students, particularly German SDS members, have been in Paris recently. At the same time, at the height of the Parisian crisis, Krivine dispatched one of his key agitators, Daniel Bensaid, to speak at a Brussels cafe, Le Maillot Jaune (The Yellow T-Shirt), to some of the students who were to play a key part in the takeover of Brussels University.

At the Grosvenor Square protest in March, when police battled with demonstrators, Krivine made a raspingly aggressive speech and the demonstration itself was strengthened by 70-odd German SDS members . . .

It would be too crude to claim that the Trotskyist Fourth International—the 30-year-old revolutionary organization which has headquarters in Paris—is behind the



IN BERLIN. German Socialist Students Federation (SDS) hosted conference of revolutionary European youth early this year in West Berlin.

present European student unrest.

But everywhere I have been in Europe their influence has been obvious.

The Fourth International was founded by Leon Trotsky, the one-time Russian revolutionary leader who broke with Stalin and was eventually murdered on his orders. Dedicated to workers' control and truly international revolution, contemptuous of the Russian Communist regime, which they regard as bureaucratic and complacent, this uncompromising outfit has for many years been shrugged off as having little more than nuisance value.

The French organization, headed by Pierre Frank, once Trotsky's personal secretary, and based in the working-class district near the Gare de l'Est, has this instruction pinned on the inside of its door: "Very important. Look through the spyhole before opening."

Despite this melodramatic stuff the organization has been making progress. It has made contact with the young hotheads of Europe.

In France, many members of Krivine's JCR are members of the Fourth International.

Here in Britain, regarded on the Continent as the baby of the protest movement, Tariq Ali says he has recently joined the Fourth International.

Pat Jordan, a middle-aged veteran of the political scene and another leading light in the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, says quite frankly that he is secretary of the International Marxist Group, an organization associated with the Fourth International . . .

Furthermore, many organizations in the European protest movement—though not

joined to the Fourth International directly—are Marxist-Trotskyist in tone.

These include the German SDS and yet another organization in Britain, called International Socialism, which has close links with British universities.

The Trotskyists' success lies in their ability to harness both the idealism and the unrest of the students.

At present many students believe not only that their universities are being run in an archaic way but also that the Western countries' conduct on race, on Vietnam, and in their whole relationship with the underdeveloped world, betrays the inherent selfishness of capitalism.

As always, as in the Europe of the 1930s, it is ideas which excite students and move them to action.

The ideas which have arrested the minds of the young militants of Europe come not only from Trotsky's texts and the office of the Fourth International in Paris.

They come from left-wing writers of many leanings—Che Guevara, the Argentine-born hero of the Cuban revolution; Frantz Fanon, the powerful anticolonialist writer from Martinique; the Belgian political theorist Ernest Mandel; Regis Debray, the 27-year-old Frenchman now imprisoned in Bolivia for his pro-revolutionary sympathies; Herbert Marcuse, the German-born professor from the U.S. who brilliantly blitzes the rat race of Western society; and, from earlier periods, Marx, Engels and Rosa Luxemburg.

The net result is a generation more impatient than any before, disdainful of wordmongers who are not prepared to fight in the streets for change. A generation hungry for revolution . . .

## Black Liberation Notes

### Black newsletter at Dodge plant

Black workers at the huge Dodge Assembly Plant in Hamtramck, Mich., are causing a stir with the circulation of a plant-wide truth-telling newsletter called *Drum*.

The purpose of the newsletter is to expose and put an end to the racist policies of management and union officials at Dodge, where 60 percent of the workers are black.

The first issue features "The Case of Willie Bookins." Bookins, a black UAW member with 17 years seniority, was fired and charged with felonious assault after being attacked by plant guards who claim they thought he was carrying a bomb into the plant. The "bomb" turned out to be two hot sausages.

Another issue of *Drum* describes how Chrysler's Huber Foundry was closed down in a spontaneous strike after the assassination of Martin Luther King. *Drum* has special words for an Uncle Tom shop steward who opposed the strike. They warn that "any time a black union steward is more concerned about getting whitey to smile at him than in helping his brothers (union or otherwise), he's got to go."

### Newton trial

Huey P. Newton, Black Panther Party Minister of Defense, will go on trial July 8 on frame-up charges of murdering an Oakland, Calif., cop. Newton's trial was postponed at the time of the Kennedy assassination on the grounds that he could not receive a fair hearing at that time.

### Great white father

When Gov. Nelson Rockefeller spoke at predominantly black Spelman College in Atlanta, Ga., he was greeted by a group of students who questioned him about his holdings in The Chase Manhattan Bank, which invests in South Africa.

Rockefeller's reply was, "I know Chase Manhattan Bank and it does business throughout the world."

One student in the crowd carried a sign that seemed to sum up the essential nature of this man whose family owns not an inconsiderable portion of the world's

### Ballot status threatened

The Lowndes County Freedom Party in Alabama may have to fight for its position on the ballot in the upcoming elections. The Freedom Party, commonly known as the Black Panther Party, is running five candidates for county offices.

We reported several months ago that a white judge in Lowndes County had been threatened and had 600 of his cattle poisoned by local racists because he was cooperating with a Freedom Party request that he not release the names of black candidates, who feared for their safety if they became known.

Since then, we have learned from a *Militant* reporter who recently returned from Lowndes that the threats have continued, and that the judge is giving in to the racists under pressure. Now he is implying that the Freedom Party candidates never filed to run for office in the first place.

There is a law in Lowndes County which says a party must file letters stating their intention to run by March 1. The Freedom Party did file the letters on time, and they have carbon copies of them to prove it. John Hulett, founder of the Party, told *The Militant*, "We are going to fight this through to the end."

—Elizabeth Barnes



punch  
"I'm so glad you're opposed to looting."

## Jewell Dunne, 66, dies

By V. R. Dunne

Jewell Flaherty Dunne, 66, died May 6 in Minneapolis.

She was a charter member of Office Employees Local 12 or, as it was called in the early days, the Office Workers Union. The *Minneapolis Labor Review* in its May 16 issue had this to say of her impressive record in the labor movement:

"Mrs. Dunne was elected secretary of the Central Labor Union, a position she held four years.

"Sister Jewell Dunne was office secretary for Building Service Employees Local 26 for the last 12 years. Previously she worked 11 years for Bartenders Local 152.

"Her first job, in 1924, was with the Central Labor Union as office girl. She stayed 17 years.

"Jewell also was recording secretary, president and financial secretary of Stenographers, Typists and Bookkeepers Local 17661—the forerunner of Office Employees Local 12.

"She was a member of organized labor for over 40 years and devoted her entire life to the labor movement."

In 1937 she married Miles B. Dunne. He was an active trade unionist and became one of the outstanding leaders and organizers of the three victorious Teamsters' strikes in 1934 in Minneapolis.

Jewell was not only a skilled stenographer and bookkeeper, she was an active fighter for the rights of the working class—always

sensitive to the black workers' problems as well as those of other minority groups.

Raised in a family of union railroad workers, she had termed herself a "Debs woman" for a number of years when I first met her. She was a supporter of the Russian Revolution and was excited and happy when the CIO won its sensational victories. She was an avid student of labor history and considered *Labor's Giant Step* by Art Preis the book which every trade unionist as well as campus youth should read.

Jewell considered herself a revolutionary socialist, a supporter of the Trotskyists after we were expelled by the then Stalinized Communist Party in 1928. But she thought her place was in helping the trade-union movement develop its potential power for a better world for all the oppressed.

Although not a member of the Socialist Workers Party, Jewell was a party supporter, helping out on her days off and with contributions. In the years before her health would not permit it, she always campaigned for the SWP candidates. She viewed the two-party system as one party of two factions, with no real distinction.

I met her for dinner a few weeks before her death. Jewell was not feeling well, but talked cheerfully about the SWP presidential ticket. She handed me a check for \$50 and said "more later." That was typical of Jewell over the years.

# Opposition develops in N.Y. teachers union

Opposition to the racist policies of the Shanker leadership of the United Federation of Teachers in New York has led to the formation within the union of a new party, the New Coalition.

Starting with the UFT strike last September, when Shanker led the union into a head-on conflict with the black and Puerto Rican communities over the issue of community control of the ghetto schools, many teachers began to feel the need to oppose the course Shanker has charted for the union.

The issue has flared again in the controversy over schools in the Brooklyn Ocean Hill-Brownsville ghetto. Shanker has continually fought against the demand for black and Puerto Rican control of their own schools, even opposing Mayor Lindsay's plans for token "decentralization." This course has led to a sharp split between the black and Puerto Rican communities and the UFT, which is only serving to weaken the union.

The New Coalition has called for an alliance of the UFT with the black and Puerto Rican communities in a struggle for fundamental change in the deteriorating school system, on the basis of support to the demand for black and Puerto Rican control of ghetto schools.

The New Coalition was formed two months ago to challenge the Shanker-led Unity Party in the annual UFT elections. It was formed by the merger of five oppositional groups within the UFT: Teachers for a New Alternative, Teachers Freedom Party, Equality, Puerto Rican Teachers for Community Control and UFT Teachers for Community Control.

During the election the New Coalition charged the Shanker leadership with manipulation, when the Shanker-domi-

## The National Picketline

nated elections committee violated its own regulations by failing to make sure that members received the special election issue of the union newspaper along with their ballots.

This special issue of the newspaper was the only place where teachers could read the programs of all the union parties. Since it was mailed third class from Washington, D.C., many thousands of UFT members received it after they voted (and some didn't receive it at all).

Despite these manipulations, the New Coalition received about 10 percent of the vote, which equalled the vote of the traditional loyal opposition party, Staff.

Last week the New Coalition sponsored a public meeting in support of community control of the schools. More than 500 teachers attended the meeting. Plans were announced to publish a regular opposition newspaper within the union and to establish the coalition on a permanent basis.

Also last week, in response to an announcement by the Board of Education that 2,800 teachers were being dropped next year, the New Coalition quickly called another meeting. Some 200 teachers showed up, and the floor was opened to them to discuss this purge.

It became evident that many of these teachers were either fired or transferred because of their support of community control of the schools or their opposition to the Vietnam war. More than 100 teachers have already reported to the New Coalition that they were dismissed or transferred from their jobs because of their political views. Yet the UFT leadership has not uttered a word in their support.

Instead Shanker has directed his fire against the experimental local governing board in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district, charging it with failure to provide due process for dismissed teachers. The present UFT leadership has sought to use the controversy in Ocean Hill-Brownsville to discredit the principle of community control of the schools and at the same time divert attention from their own failure to fight for teachers who have been fired or transferred throughout the city.

Opposition to the Shanker leadership came to a head on June 19 at a meeting of the Delegate Assembly of the union. The Delegate Assembly is the highest legislative body of the union and consists of elected representatives from all 900 schools in New York. Delegates rose one after the other to challenge Shanker on Vietnam, community control and political action. At one point Shanker threatened to adjourn the meeting.

In addition to calling for community control of the schools, the New Coalition program also calls for "the immediate termination of U.S. intervention in Vietnam." It stands for an alliance of the entire labor movement to fight the anti-union Taylor Law, and it has warned that the UFT's reliance on the Democratic Party would lead the union to disaster. The New Coalition program stresses that only the independent political and economic power of the labor movement is capable of advancing its cause.

—J.M.

clip and mail

## CALENDAR

### BERKELEY

**CLASSES ON SOCIALISM.** Every Sunday, 8:00 p.m. 2519A Telegraph Ave. Ausp. Berkeley YSA.

### CHICAGO

**FRANCE: PAST AND PRESENT.** Mon., July 8, 8:00 p.m., Speaker: Lynn Henderson; Thurs., July 11, 8:00 p.m., Speaker: Gus Horowitz. **FRANCE 1968: REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVES.** Sun., July 14, 7 p.m. Speaker: Barry Sheppard, editor, *The Militant*. 302 S. Canal St. Contribution: 35¢ per session. Ausp. Socialist Summer School.

### CLEVELAND

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Four seminars on American imperialism. Lecturer: Dick Roberts, staff writer, *The Militant*. Sat., July 6, 10:00 a.m. and 12:00 p.m. Sun., July 7, 10:00 a.m. and 12:00 p.m. Registration: 50¢ per session. 9801 Euclid Ave. For further information call 791-1669.

### DETROIT

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Sat., July 13: *The Workers' States*; Sun., July 28: *The Cuban Revolution*; Sat., Aug. 10: *Fascism*; Sat., Aug. 24: *Black Nationalism*. 11:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. For more information call 831-6135. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

**CUBA.** A series of lectures and discussions. Fri., July 12: *Cuba Before the Revolution: A People Under the Heel of Imperialism*. 8:00 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. For more information call 831-6135. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.



**HARLEM BOYCOTT.** UFT leadership has come into conflict with black and Puerto Rican communities many times in past few years. During community boycott of I.S. 201 in 1966 for community control, UFT scabbed on boycott and opposed it.

## Militant Phila. teachers fight racist union bureaucracy

By Joel Aber

**PHILADELPHIA** — "Racism is destroying our union. It's in your own self-interest to heed our plea." Thus spoke about 50 concerned teachers at an angry confrontation with the executive board of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT), AFL-CIO on June 5.

Only two members of the executive board, union president Frank Sullivan and chief negotiator John Ryan, deigned to show up at this previously scheduled meeting, and they categorically denied the possibility that any of their actions could be interpreted as racist.

But the union militants were armed with a four-page bill of particulars documenting the pattern of racism exhibited by union officials during the past few months.

The PFT won bargaining rights only four years ago in a hard, militant fight. The PFT contract expires at the end of the summer, and the union is headed for a showdown with the school board. A strike vote was already taken at the June membership meeting. The teachers are demanding a starting salary of \$9,000 a year, an increase of nearly 50 percent. But overshadowing the contract negotiations this year is the ugly spectre of racism, which jeopardizes the union's very existence.

The festering sore reached gangrene proportions last November 20. On November 17, about 5,000 black high school students had massed at school board headquarters to voice long-standing demands for more control of their schools. The historic demonstration was so brutally and unmercifully attacked by club-wielding cops that the mass media were forced to describe the police attack accurately.

Three days later, Sullivan stated in an open letter that there was an increase of student attacks on teachers, and he implied that the school board was responsible because it had not punished the high-school demonstrators!

At a stormy December membership meeting, Ryan rubbed salt into the wound by moving that Sullivan be commended for his racist letter. After black teachers who took the microphone were shouted down by boos and catcalls, two hundred union members, including nearly every Afro-American present, walked out of the meeting en masse.

Two groups of teachers were formed to combat racism, Teachers Concerned, an all-black group which rejects working within the union, and Teachers for Social Action, which advocates struggling against racism both within and outside of the PFT.

In the ensuing months, the PFT leadership has come into open conflict with the black community on issue after issue. In current contract negotiations, as in the past, the PFT negotiators have stubbornly refused to discuss any proposals for involuntary transfer of teachers to ghetto schools. In the past two contracts, the

school board has readily given in on this point, thus giving city officials a scapegoat—pointing to the union as the cause of inferior instruction of ghetto children.

To add fuel to the fire, the present PFT contract demands include the granting to teachers of the "same authority over pupils that their parents exercise, both in school and while the pupils are in transit to and from school." In other words, the PFT leadership is demanding the right to use corporal punishment, just in case the teacher's identification with the cop is not already crystal clear in the student's mind. On this point, the school board appears more than willing to give in, with the additional proviso that teachers be made to work one-half hour longer each day to patrol the school grounds—at no additional pay of course.

Last month the school board informed long-term substitutes that their contracts will not be renewed in the fall. Many who have been teaching for six years will lose their jobs. Ninety-five percent of those affected are black. President Sullivan has stated that he supports the school board's move to fire these teachers.

Most recently, PFT filed a grievance against the appointment of six vice-principals who have been serving as liaison officers between students and local school administrators in predominantly black schools. PFT claims that the board discriminated against qualified white teachers in appointing the six black teachers. KYW Radio asked Sullivan why he had taken action only now, although some of the six had been serving as long as a year. Sullivan refused to comment.

Meanwhile, Afro-American students have won some token concessions, such as the introduction of black history and Swahili courses into the curriculum and a token experiment in community control of a storefront school.

On May 19, Malcolm X's birthday, more than 1,000 students staged a sit-in in Germantown High School's auditorium. While such demonstrations evoke support from black teachers and a handful of white teachers, the entire black community knows that the only powerful teacher organization in Philadelphia, the PFT, has consciously put itself on the wrong side of their struggle.

One white teacher told Sullivan and Ryan at their June 5 executive committee meeting, "I treat union activity seriously and have been a good unionist for a long time. But if black parents and students walk across your picket lines and try to set up their own educational system this fall, I will volunteer my services to them."

In September, teachers will find the picket line a particularly lonely place to be. Then some of them may begin to realize that their real enemy is not the black community—that both teachers and black students are subjected to injustice by the same city administration.

## Special to New Readers

If you would like to get better acquainted with THE MILITANT, you may obtain a special, introductory four-month subscription for \$1. (If you're already sold on the paper, you can help out by sending a regular one-year subscription for \$3.)

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# Peace & Freedom nominee modified stance in L.A. race

By Allen Taplin

LOS ANGELES—Michael Hannon, candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party for the nonpartisan office of Los Angeles District Attorney, polled 410,555 votes, or 23 percent of the total, in losing to the incumbent District Attorney Evelle Younger in the June 4 California primary elections.

At the outset of the campaign, the expectation among the Hannon campaign workers was for at least a 35 percent vote, and perhaps a victory. Their elation at achieving ballot status, with over 105,000 registrants into the new Peace and Freedom Party last January, gave the Hannon campaigners high hopes for a victory.

The protest vote cast for Hannon, however, was a respectable tally, and about what could be expected for a relative unknown, running as a reform candidate against the incumbent D.A., a right-winger deservedly hated in Los Angeles' large black and Mexican-American ghettos.

The Hannon campaign committee strove for a broad base among Los Angeles' radical, liberal and minority voters. While it did not achieve such a base—the campaign was essentially based on PFP activists—the already limited PFP program was cut to its liberal bone in search of support.

The campaign's main piece of literature was a brochure with the heading "End Lawless Law Enforcement! Rebuild Respect for Law." The political unsophisticate receiving this brochure could tell that it was a left-wing rather than a right-wing "pro-law" tract by noting the Peace and Freedom imprint at the bottom.

Inside he would learn that Hannon will "Investigate Citizen's Complaints of Police Abuse"; "Prosecute Police Who Break the Law"; "Place First Priority on Real Crime" (i.e., ignore victimless marijuana and sex "offenses"); and "Lobby for Changes In the Criminal Law."

But no innocent voter learned that the Hannon campaign was for withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam, favored black power, or was for the replacement of the corrupt American political system by a "new political system."

All these views are formally tenets of the Peace and Freedom Party and all are strongly held by Mike Hannon and his campaigners. But they chose not to speak about them in an effort to chase after votes.

As a result the campaign failed to educate a single voter about the need for fundamental social change. It failed this first test of any radical election effort.

In the months following its achieving ballot status, and the initial burgeoning of local clubs throughout the state, the PFP has steadily gone downhill. A considerable section of its membership has reregistered into the Democratic Party in order to vote and campaign for McCarthy in the primaries, and most of the remainder have been rendered inactive by PFP's failure to conduct any significant antiwar activity. The remaining activists have spent considerable time in factional disputes, but to date have failed to produce either an authoritative leadership or program.

The Hannon campaign has at least given a picture of the future of the PFP. In its very first electoral effort, the PFP took its initial giant step back into the "mainstream" of regular capitalist politics.

The Hannon campaign was, of course, wholeheartedly supported by the Communist Party in Los Angeles.

*From a United Press International dispatch.*

HANOVER, N.H. (UPI)—The Dartmouth College valedictorian urged his classmates Sunday to refuse to fight in Vietnam, and they rose to cheer him when he thanked God the United States is losing the Vietnam war.

"I urge you to refuse to fight in Vietnam when that call comes to you," said James W. Newton of Glendale, Ariz. "It is my conclusion that the Vietnam war is a colossal stupidity, a vast international atrocity and an expensive lesson in the futility of modern aggressive imperialism, for, thank God, we are losing that war."

At that, most of his classmates rose in a standing ovation, but cries of "Shame!" and "Traitor!" were shouted by parents and alumni.

**DADDY STINKS**

l'Enrage

## The Great Society

**WHO'S NERVOUS!**—The New York Times reported June 15: "Floyd Bennett Field girded itself for an invasion last night and a contingent of about 20 policemen were rushed to the air base on a report that a group of uniformed Negro youths armed with rifles was moving toward the field. When surrounded in the woods near the base, however, the 'aggressors' turned out to be a group of about a dozen Sea Scouts from the Brownsville Bible Mission . . ."

**UTILITIES INCLUDED?**—For those who seek the social status accompanying burial in a mausoleum but can't afford one, Woodlawn Cemetery, a supermarket-type operation, is offering space in a "community mausoleum" at "reasonable prices." We're not sure if it's a true co-op or if you just get your own niche, but there is a "sculptured glass window" and a "quiet and reverent atmosphere." We're not so concerned about the view or atmosphere, but we would certainly want assurances it's a quiet place.

**FOR REPENTANT REGENERATES ONLY**—Anyone who is not quite certain what the phrase "dirty old man" means might take a look at the action of the General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene regarding a proposal to modify its ban on divorcees as members of the church. Presently, divorcees are accepted only if their divorce resulted from adultery by their husband. A motion was made to amend this to include into the fold divorcees who could prove genuine "repentance" and "regeneration." The motion was piously tabled.

**AND JAZZ IT UP**—The Soviet magazine *Sputnik* says the following letter was allegedly received by Karl Marx from his Leipzig publisher: "Dear Herr Doctor: You are already 18 months behind time with the manuscript of *Das Kapital* which you have agreed to write for us. If we do not receive the manuscript within six months, we shall be obliged to commission another author to do this work."

**PEOPLE'S CAPITALISM**—Krupp, the German munitions family which helped finance Hitler to power and used slave labor to keep its industrial empire going during World War II, has reorganized as a corporation with a democratically elected chairman of the board. The chairman, a Mr. Vogelsang (it means "bird song" and is not, we assume, a pseudonym for Krupp), assures that the company will continue its postwar policy of not manufacturing weapons—at least, he added judiciously, "not in the narrow sense."

**GREAT OUTDOORS**—Despite dirt, noise and pollution, sidewalk cafes are winning increased patronage in New York. One bar operator said it's a good business even though occasionally someone will ask for a replacement of a highball where pieces of soot have settled on the ice cubes.

**IT MAKES SENSE**—A June 22 New York Times headline states: "Boston Sheriff Disarms Aides—Wants Public Assured on Crime Prevention Priorities."

—Harry Ring

# 'Man without country' wins four year fight

For the past four years the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service has been attempting to deport Joseph Johnson and take away his U.S. citizenship. Johnson is a native-born American citizen, and if the INS had been successful, he would have been without citizenship in any country.

When the case began, Johnson was the organizer of the Twin Cities branch of the Socialist Workers Party. He is presently a leading member of the Seattle branch.

Following is a letter The Militant received from him dated June 19.

### Seattle

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service has just sent me a written statement dropping all charges against me. Thus, I have won my four-year fight to keep my citizenship.

When I received the deportation order on May 1, 1964, I thought it must be a mistake. But events were to prove that the INS was in earnest and seriously intended to revoke my birthright of citizenship and expel me from the country. I had to fight this deportation order both in my own interest and to prevent the establishment of a dangerous precedent—the enforced banishment of a native citizen from his land of birth.

The government claimed I was a stateless person and subject to deportation on the ground that I had been politically active in Canada and thus had violated the 1952 McCarran Immigration Act.

There are two important aspects of the case.

First is the meaning of U.S. citizenship. Prior to 1900 there were no laws on the books which could deprive an American of his citizenship for any reason whatever. But since that time the capitalist politicians have been chipping away at our rights of citizenship.

The 1952 McCarran Act was the biggest threat to American citizenship to date. It set up all kinds of ways an American can lose his birthright.

Secondly, I think this case was a con-



Joseph Johnson

scious act of harassment aimed against the Socialist Workers Party. It was a way of getting at us, of attacking us. It was a way of diverting some of our energy.

The government hoped we would not defend ourselves. But we did fight and we won! It did take energy, but the SWP and all those who believe in human rights have come out of the fight stronger.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee took my case and provided the services of the eminent constitutional attorney, Leonard B. Boudin. Douglas Hall, a noted civil liberties lawyer from Minneapolis, served as joint counsel. Without the honest, energetic and skillful work of the ECLC, Leonard Boudin and Douglas Hall, I would now be a man without a country.

In addition to this legal aid provided by the ECLC, the Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson raised funds for legal costs, and publicized the facts concerning the case. My thanks go especially to the workers in the defense committee, who had won the case politically long before I received the letter from the INS saying they were giving up.

Joe Johnson

### SOCIALIST FUND

## In full and on time

By Evelyn Reed  
Fund Director

The \$26,000 Spring Fund of the Socialist Workers Party has been successfully concluded at the end of its three-month run. New York and Boston led the race and both have oversubscribed their quotas.

Cleveland and Twin Cities win honors for completing their quotas almost a month ahead of the June 15 deadline. The final scoreboard shows the order in which other areas fulfilled their accepted quotas.

Special mention also goes to the "General" category, which registers donations from *Militant* readers throughout the country who are usually not in cities listed on the scoreboard. These friends have contributed a larger share of the total fund than in previous campaigns—almost \$1,000. In part this is a tribute

to the expanding circulation of *The Militant* and more new readers who want to help the socialist cause.

Two contributions were received from Boston in memory of Joseph Fishman, father of a comrade and "an old-time socialist with true socialist principles and ideals." The other contributor wrote, "This is a better method of showing our sympathy than sending flowers which today are often not desired."

Similarly, a \$100 contribution was received from Brooklyn "in memory of Minnie Gabriel Goodman, one-time member and lifelong friend of the Socialist Workers Party."

We thank you, one and all, who have helped us to make this Fund Drive such a success!

### Fund scoreboard

| Branch           | Quota    | Paid     | Percent |
|------------------|----------|----------|---------|
| Boston           | \$1,450  | \$1,498  | 103     |
| New York         | 6,400    | 6,538    | 102     |
| Twin Cities      | 1,800    | 1,800    | 100     |
| Cleveland        | 1,500    | 1,500    | 100     |
| San Francisco    | 1,700    | 1,700    | 100     |
| Philadelphia     | 800      | 800      | 100     |
| Detroit          | 1,800    | 1,800    | 100     |
| Chicago          | 2,200    | 2,200    | 100     |
| Seattle          | 300      | 300      | 100     |
| General          | 965      | 965      | 100     |
| Los Angeles      | 4,700    | 4,700    | 100     |
| Newark           | 200      | 200      | 100     |
| Allentown        | 135      | 135      | 100     |
| Oakland-Berkeley | 1,700    | 1,700    | 100     |
| San Diego        | 300      | 300      | 100     |
|                  | \$26,000 | \$26,186 | 100+    |

# THE MILITANT

## Support to SWP urged in 20-state ballot drive

By Jon Britton

Supporters of Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle are in a drive that will, hopefully, put the Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and Vice-President on the ballot in more than 20 states. Four years ago the SWP was on the ballot in 11 states.

In many states the Democratic and Republican parties have sought to grab an electoral monopoly by passing discriminatory laws making it extremely difficult for minority parties to get on the ballot. In Illinois, for example, 25,000 signatures of registered voters are required with a minimum of 200 from each county. Ohio requires an impossible 900,000 signatures or registered voters! In New York, where the Socialist Workers candidates have been on the ballot in previous years, the law specifies a minimum of 50 signatures of registered voters in each of the 62 counties and a total of 12,000. The fact that some of the upstate counties are very sparsely populated makes this a tough state too.

Petitions to place Halstead and Boutelle on the ballot have already been filed with the secretaries of state in Michigan,

### N.Y. peace group sets an antiracist response

NEW YORK—The Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee announced it will respond to any police invasion of the black community with a mass demonstration in Times Square. The plan was announced June 27 by Al Evanoff, employment director of District 65, AFL-CIO; Pauline Rosen of Women Strike for Peace; Dr. David Dubnau of the Medical Committee on Human Rights; and Father Eric Mann.

The Parade Committee said it recognizes "that the struggle of black Americans for control of their communities and for human rights and of the Vietnamese people for self-determination are both part of the movement of all people for freedom."

A standing five-member subcommittee will mobilize Parade Committee supporters in response to any assault on the black community.

Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Kentucky. In two additional states, Tennessee and Iowa, almost all the necessary signatures have been gathered and will soon be filed. Petitions are also currently being circulated in Arizona and Indiana.

The drive to get Halstead and Boutelle on the ballot has scored successes in some rather out-of-the-way places. Eloise Chase, New England socialist campaign director, heads up a team of young campaigners who have been initiating the ballot effort in Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire and Rhode Island. Their visit to Maine resulted in a very favorable interview which appeared in the *Bath-Brunswick Times Record* along with major excerpts from the SWP election platform. Four campaign supporters in Maine agreed to serve as presidential electors for Halstead and Boutelle.

In New Hampshire more than 600 of the 1,000 signatures required for ballot status have been gathered. Members of Dartmouth SDS have been aiding in this effort.

In Rutland, Vermont, campaign supporter Irving Reynolds ran a quarter-page ad urging support to Halstead and Boutelle in the *Rutland Herald*, which produced a number of inquiries and offers to help petition.

Across the country in Arizona, the ballot drive is headed up by a young philosophy professor at Arizona State University in Tempe. The chairman of SDS there recently wrote in to urge that a chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance be organized at ASU.

In July, August or September petitions will be circulated or nominating conventions held in Maine, Rhode Island, Vermont, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Wisconsin, Connecticut, New York, Washington, Minnesota, Montana, North Dakota, Arizona, and Indiana and possibly Virginia and Louisiana.

Join this drive by circulating petitions or attending a nominating convention in your state, or by sending a financial contribution. For further information write to the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003 Tel: (212) 673-0790.

## Many French groups condemn political ban

De Gaulle's repression of the main revolutionary groups has been vigorously condemned by virtually all the leftist political tendencies in France, with the exception of the Communist Party.

The National Union of French Students (UNEF) stated:

"The government repression is becoming more intense each day. The government has just proceeded to arrest 15 militants, both students and workers, in their homes . . .

"By imprisoning some of these militants, who were among the most active in the student union, the government is aiming at the entire student movement and the UNEF in particular.

"A massive reply from all the unions is becoming more and more indispensable. Thus the UNEF is appealing to all the unions for action of this kind."

A statement by the National Union of Higher Education (SNESup) attacked especially the arbitrary deportation of foreign nationals. The distinction drawn between "natives" and "aliens," the SNESup declared, "can easily arouse a tendency to xenophobia. Also, these deportations threaten to turn political refugees over to the police in their own country."

In banning the revolutionary groups that "helped to bare the educational and social crisis," SNESup stated, "the Gaullist regime is continuing the policy of repression as its only answer to the questions raised by the youth."

A joint statement issued by UNEF and the High School Union (UGE) stressed that none of the banned organizations was an "armed league." "The violence that occurred during the demonstrations . . . was due to the forces of law and order" which attacked groups of students. "This is not an isolated incident," the UNEF-UGE statement observed, "but is part of an overall policy of repressing the worker and student movements." The statement also declared that members of the banned organizations would retain their full freedom of expression within the UNEF and UGE, and it appealed to their members, the workers and the whole populace "to be vigilant and to denounce the government's maneuver everywhere and its possible culmination in a fascist regime in France."

A statement by the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT) also noted that violence had occurred only when the police intervened. "Solutions imposed by force," said the CFDT, "whether it involves banning demonstrations or dissolving groups of students, leaves the problems posed by the working class as well as by the students without a solution."

Guy Mollet, vice president of the Democratic and Socialist Federation of the Left and general secretary of the French Socialist Party, stated that "I certainly

### Jerry Rubin arrested, beaten in New York

NEW YORK—Jerry Rubin, long-time antiwar activist, was arrested June 13 on a charge of possessing marijuana. After being arrested he was beaten and kicked by cops, suffering a back injury.

William Kunstler, noted civil rights and civil liberties attorney, is defending Rubin, charging his arrest was an act of political intimidation. The New York Civil Liberties Union has taken the same position.

Rubin first became known while chairman of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee, the University of California group that organized the first international protest against the war.

He was a staff member of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam during preparations for the October, 1967 Pentagon demonstration.

Rubin is presently a leader of a group called the Youth International Party ("Yippies").

**Because of the important political events taking place, The Militant will appear every week during the summer instead of every other week as previously.**

do not agree with the youth movements involved. Violence never leads to anything except more violence. I think their methods are wrong." But, he said, he would be "incapable of giving my approval to the decision" to ban the revolutionary organizations.

The centrist, social-democratic United Socialist Party (PSU) affirmed its solidarity with the outlawed groups, while dissociating itself from some of their policies. Marc Heurgon, a member of the National Political Committee of the PSU declared at a June 14 protest meeting that the PSU was ready to place its press, its headquarters and its members "at the disposition" of the banned organizations.

He scored the Communist Party and *l'Humanite* (the French CP newspaper), "which has not uttered a word of protest against the dissolution of the revolutionary movements." *L'Humanite*, he added, "is a dishonorable newspaper."

The League for the Rights of Man asserted that the 1936 law under which the revolutionary groups were outlawed applied only if it could be proved that the groups were engaged in activities specified as illegal in the law. The League demanded that the government "make public, for each of the dissolved associations, the evidence and proofs that would show that this law is applicable."

The French Maoist organization, the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France, denounced "the decisions of a fascist character taken by the Gaullist government" against the revolutionary youth organizations.

The Marxist Revolutionary Groups, a small organization headed by Michel Pablo, which was not banned, "violently denounces the ban hitting the revolutionary organizations." It called for a united front of all working-class and democratic organizations to condemn all attempts to repress any revolutionary workers' tendency, and declared that "the organization of the self-defense of the masses must be put on the agenda."

## French notables defending leftists

A group of prominent French intellectuals have just formed a committee to defend civil liberties and oppose the Gaullist repression. Among its founding members are Jean-Paul Sartre, Laurent Schwartz, Alain Resnais, Nobel Prize winner Alfred Kastler, Simone de Beauvoir, Michel Leiris, Marguerite Duras and Jacques Monod. The committee's initiators signed the following statement:

"Repression in the most diverse forms is now being instituted in an attempt to crush the vast movement which touched off the student and worker revolt. Eleven far-left organizations or associations have been dissolved by a decree applying a 1936 law. Political activists and even ordinary citizens have been arrested, turned over to the political police, and threatened with prosecution before the Cour de Surete de l'Etat (State Security Court)."

"A great number of foreign nationals have been expelled from France without being granted any recourse or means of defending themselves. Workers have already been hit with penalties for strike actions. Physical violence has been used against political activists distributing their pamphlets or publications. Unless such repression is countered immediately by the determined opposition of the largest possible number of people, it will inevitably be extended."

"This is why the signers [of this declaration] have proceeded to form a committee to defend civil liberties and oppose repression. The committee's objectives are the following: abrogation of the dissolution decree; cessation of all prosecutions resulting from the workers' and students' demonstrations of May and June 1968; withdrawal of the expulsion decrees against foreign nationals; struggle against penalties for strike actions; active solidarity with all victims of the repression."

Expressions of support for the committee will be received by M. Laurent Schwartz, 37 rue Pierre-Nicole, Paris 5.

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